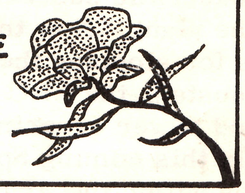
Black and Green

$1

THE DUTY TO PRODUCE DESTROYS THE PASSION TO CREATE



NUMBER 1

The New England Anarchist Conference

WHO WE ARE; WHAT WE BELIEVE

We live today in a period of historic social crises -- of crises produced by far-reaching imbalances between humanity and nature and between human and human. Indeed, we may well be faced with the total annihilation of human society in every form, if not the complete destruction of life on this planet.

Our food, water and air are being utterly polluted by toxic chemicals and radioactive isotopes. Our individual freedoms are being subverted and eliminated by state, corporate and even domestic hierarchies which threaten all our liberties, particularly those of young people, women, ethnic minorities, gays, the poor and the elderly, the deprived and neglected. Mass media and the trashy products of mass production invade the most private recesses of our lives, threatening the integrity of personality itself, while immense, totalitarian, highly centralized governmental and corporate hierarchies threaten to take full command over our social destinies, rendering us into powerless and pathetically ineffectual beings. Finally, hanging over our heads is the ultimate threat of extinction itself -- of radiological destruction from nuclear power plants and nuclear war.

All the liberties which Americans of past generations once fought for are now faced with obliteration in the name of a specious "new patriotism" that is shrewdly orchestrated by multinational corporations, by cynical elites, and by their minions of the press, radio and television. All of these monstrous threats to our human rights, indeed to our very humanity, can no longer be viewed as single issues, as isolated abuses or passing episodes, each to be separated from the other and dealt with in isolation. They comprise a vast constellation of coherent and meaningful regressions, a return to a new social barbarism, coercive and totalitarian in character, that requires an equally coherent and meaningful social movement.

To answer to these problems and needs, we wish to raise new ideals of freedom and liberatory alternatives of social organization in the broadest sense: freedom of the individual from corporate, bureaucratic, and media manipulation; freedom of women to control their own bodies and achieve fulfillment of their human potentialities; freedom of ethnic and gay groups from every vestige of misanthropic chauvinism; freedom of future generations from the mindless and ruthless poisoning of the entire planet; freedom of communities from centralized controls; freedom of the poor and elderly from deprivation and humiliation; freedom of society from totalitarian rule and the obliteration of our venerable liberties.

To these solemn ends we have organized ourselves into The New England Anarchist Conference, an on-going body of anti-authoritarian affinity groups and committed individuals who are dedicated to a truly substantive and free society. We have chosen the word "Anarchist" not from any perverse belief in "chaos" and "violence"; quite to the contrary, we are people who believe in a truly moral order and in a society guided by an ethics of peace. We view the word anarche simply in its literal Greek sense of "no rule", that is of no domination of human by human, be it in society, public administration, workplace or family. We eschew the degraded word "soc-

cont. pg. 12

THE TIDE: EBBS AND FLOWS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

SAN FRANCISCO -- Antinuclear activists on the West Coast have united around a renewed effort to block the planned opening of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant next Spring. Plans for a blockade action at Diablo over the past two years have been continually thwarted by movement liberals' deference to Jerry Brown's bureaucratic successes in delaying the licensing of the plant. Now that all administrative channels for stopping the plant appear to have been exhausted, the NRC is expected to grant a reduced power experimental operating license early this coming Spring. Direct action advocates within the Abalone Alliance have been drafting plans for a response to the licensing, and the Alliance has agreed by consensus to carry out a direct action blockade within eight weeks of the licensing announcement. A new, updated Blockade Handbook has been prepared, and should soon be available from the Abalone Alliance, 944 Market St., San Francisco, Ca.

SEABROOK, N.H. -- On November 24, the state of New Hampshire dropped felony charges against Brian Feigenbaum. Brian had been charged with assault on a police officer in connection with the May 24 occupation attempt. Specifically, he was charged with throwing a grappling hook at a police officer and was faced with a possible seven years in jail. At the Nov. 24 hearings, attended by approximately 15 supporters, the state felt they could go no further and dropped the charges. To this point legal fees and costs add up to over $1000. Contributions can be sent to Brian's defense fund, c/o Boston Clamshell, 595 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

NEW YORK CITY -- The Wall Street Journal reported last month that adults, as well as children, may demonstrate antisocial behavior as a result of the "minimal brain dysfunction" known as hyperactivity. For several years, many school systems across the country have been routinely administering excessive doses of amphetamines to children diagnosed as hyperactive -- doses that have been shown to markedly impair a child's capacity for learning in addition to acting as a sedative (the sedative effect is seen as confirmation of the child's hyperactivity). Now, it is being claimed that such treatments are appropriate for adults suffering from such ambiguous ailments as "chronic impulsiveness, inability to concentrate, poor self image and distorted views of the world," maybe up to 5% of all americans. The Journal cited as one success story a construction worker who "talks bitterly about the shortcomings of the educational, political and economic systems," and was diagnosed after his son was branded 'hyperactive' by a school therapist.

SALEM, ORE. -- State representative Donna Zajonc has drafted a bill that would require all electoral ballots in the state to include the option of voting for 'None of the Above', a choice already available on statewide ballots in

BLACK AND GREEN is the Newsletter of the New England Anarchist Conference, a federation of anarchist affinity groups throughout New England and the surrounding areas. The Conference was founded in October of 1980 at a meeting of over 150 individuals at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont. Discussion centered around our policy statement and organizational structure, as well as direct action, education, feminism, community organizing, militarism and the draft, outreach, urban alternatives and anarchist history; complete minutes including prepared discussion papers are available from NEAC for $1. We sincerely invite your comments, criticisms, analyses and suggestions.

This issue was edited and produced by members of the Freedom and Unity and Turtle Island affinity groups in Burlington, Vermont. Special thanks to Susan B. Anarchy, Maikel, Jim and the Lincoln Street gang.

BLACK AND GREEN
c/o NEAC
Box 373
Burlington, Vermont 05401

Nevada. Says she, "My belief is that as elected officials, we should give people more options to make them believe their vote is worth something."

NIJMEGEN, THE NETHERLANDS -- On Sunday and Monday October 19-20, over 15,000 antinuclear activists carried out a nonviolent blockade of the Dodewaard nuclear power plant in the southeastern part of the Netherlands. The action was apparently the culmination of a very successful educational campaign against the plant; the demonstrators chose on Monday afternoon to postpone continuing the blockade, proclaiming the two day action a success. Also in October, 10,000 Australians demonstrated in Melbourne in support of ongoing trade union efforts against uranium mining and 50,000 Britons marched in London protesting the development of nuclear weapons in England. Apparently, lamentations over the death of the anti-nuclear movement are proving quite premature.

cont. page 6

ASK EMMA

Questions of public mores and etiquette have never been easy for revolutionaries. When bourgeois propriety can no longer be a guide for behavior, where's an anarchist to turn to learn to avoid the social faux pas that can mar anyone's personal relations? We at **Black and Green** have finally solved this problem by arranging to have the Grandmother of us all to answer your questions. No longer need you be plagued by nagging doubts; if you really want to know, just Ask Emma.

Comrade Goldman,

My mother is an unrepentant Stalinist who quit the Party in protest over Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's 'excesses'. My son's father's parents are SWP'ers from Indiana. My son's current lover is a Wobblie and my son's into est. My son is graduating college and they're all coming to my place for dinner. These people haven't set foot in the same building since Paul Robeson's funeral. What should I do?

--Fearing Bloodshed

Dear Fearing,

You have some problem. I suggest a round table with you and your son's lover at opposite ends. Put your son between her and your mother and the Trots between her and you. If your mother isn't partial to Albania, try to confine the conversation to the conflict between the Albanian sub-nationalities, the Tosks and the Ghegs. Use white napkins; they make the best bandages. Good luck!

Dear Emma,

My girl friend claims bestiality is a petty bourgeois deviation. I think it's kinky. What do you say?

--Laissez Faire

Dear Faire,

Anyone who tries to dictate sexual preference is establishing the very basis for the reintroduction of authority into the revolution. Leave her alone.

Dear Emma,

For the last three years, I have been crossing out the definition of Anarchism in dictionaries in libraries and bookstores. Now I'm worried that I'm alienating and not educating. Should I stop?

--L. H. S.

Dear L. H. S.,

You never can tell when someone on the brink of political consciousness might stumble on one of your dictionaries. However the odds are really against it. Combatting public misconceptions about anarchism requires sustained and articulate explanation. Scribbling in dictionaries just won't do it.

* * * *

A note to our readers:

Letters postmarked by the new moon should get to us in time for the full moon seance and will be answered by the next cross quarter day. And remember, reception from the dead is best at the peak of the sun spot cycle, so this year's your big chance.

Conference COMMENTS

The past two meetings of Hard Rain were devoted to discussion and critique of the New England Anarchist Conference. At our first meeting we outlined three areas we thought needed criticism: 1) The philosophy, language, meeting procedures, etc. of 'new age politics'. 2) A vision of education detached from activism. 3) The question of emphasizing democracy as opposed to political-economy, i.e., the decision-making processes of society vs. the content of society.

At the following meeting we left these three points aside (for the time being) to discuss problems of NEAC in general terms. The crux of the matter for us boiled down to three questions: 1) Should we have an anarchist federation? 2) Do we like this one? 3) If not this one, do we want to work building another one?

1) Should we have an anarchist federation? (That is, should we participate in building one?) For most of us the answer was a qualified yes. To do political education, to have political discussion with people outside our localities, to put out a journal or paper, to define what we want, to undertake coordinated actions, to deal with many issues in an overall context(instead of single issue groups only), were all reasons given for a federation.

However, a number of us were not interested in a federation if it meant a network of autonomous affinity groups where political coherence, unity of action, and accountability in decision-making were not possible. A few of us felt that if 'anarchism' was the 'unifier' of the federation, it was likely that: we wouldn't get past theoretical differences, we wouldn't attract many people, and we would continue to have the problems exhibited by the Vermont conference.

Though we felt this was a difficult time to begin a federation, the discussion and working relationships built now could produce a strong federation in the future.

2) Do we like this one (federation)? Many of the people at the conference are people we have had a good working relationship with in the past, and we want to find ways of continuing to work with them. We want to maintain our contact with NEAC (though it is misleading to list our group as a member group of NEAC). Whether NEAC will have the qualities of a useful federation remains to be seen.

Here the three areas of criticism brought up at our first meeting are relevant. If NEAC continues to attract mostly people who are under the influence of new age thinking, it will alienate all of Hard Rain. (To us, new age thinking is characteristically: pro-consensus, anti-analytical, conciliationist when groups in society or ideas clash, emphasizing feelings and individual expression to the extent we cannot accomplish anything collectively, mystical and anti-rational, for vague generalities in language and thought, pacifist, anti-goal, etc.). Some of us see many of these ideas becoming fetishized, changed from their original usefulness and human origin to caricatures of themselves. An emphasis on feelings and individual expression has given way to sessions in which everyone now feels it's allright for her/him to express (ad nauseum), but everyone has forgotten how to listen. In our fervor to come to consensus we end up watering things down to the point that the end issue we are agreeing on is trivial). If NEAC is involved only in education, and takes a neutral to mildly antagonistic view of activism, it will also be less useful to Hard Rain people. And if NEAC's perspective only emphasizes democracy and "human rights", without tackling political-economic questions, it will not encompass the viewpoints of many of us.

3) Building another one? Most of us were not excited about trying to build some sort of different federation (one other than NEAC). Unfortunately, this does not mean we are excited about building NEAC, either.

At this point I'm going to add some observations and comments of my own which do not necessarily reflect the opinions of other members of Hard Rain. From my point of view, NEAC had problems of method (the way it was organized) and content ("anarchism", the texts of "Who We Are..." and the resolves) that led quite naturally to the problems of the Goddard conference. Some of these problems were mentioned in the Hard Rain 'report' above. But I would add the following problems:

1) The attempt to create unity around an ideological manifesto, instead of the development of a shared analysis, specific and concrete, in a long-term process involving more of the potential NEAC members.

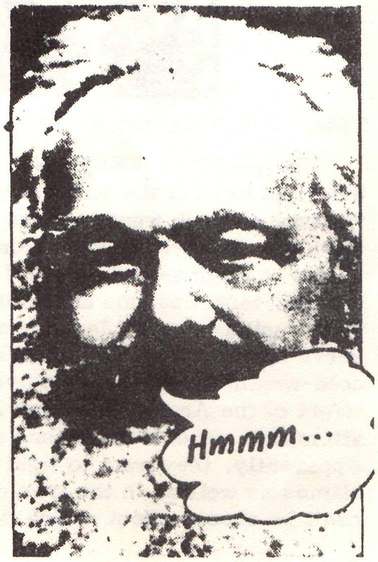
cont. pg. 6

RESPONSE to Hard Rain

The above letter was submitted to Black and Green by Hard Rain as an analysis of the first New England Anarchist Conference. The editorial collective feels that it is necessary to respond to this letter and especially to expand upon certain points that we feel are crucial to the future development of the NEAC. We hope this will be the beginning of an ongoing discussion of these and other substantive issues:

We feel that the influence of New Ageism that the NEAC has inherited from the anti-nuclear movement is real and must be understood for what it is and rejected. The basic assumption of New Age politics is that social, political, and economic problems can always be reduced to the personal level and in effect be "processed" away. The use of meetings as therapy, the prevalence of instant and contrived intimacy, and the reliance on the feeling of community without its reality all reduce politics to a matter of feeling good.

Given this, we feel that Rudy's use of the word "marginal" to describe the participants of the conference is needlessly provocative, however it does point out the inexperienced and transient nature of many of us. Stability and rootedness did not characterize the anti-nuclear movement and we have inherited this as well. Revolutionary political activity as a prerequisite to analysis and theory cannot be dismissed. Reading the MNS Resource Manual and New Age Magazine are no substitute for the experience of challenging state and corporate control of society.



Our emphasis on political and social analysis rather than on ecomonic analysis is a conscious attempt to redress an unbalance in favor of economic analysis which resulted from the all-pervasive influence of Marxism on revolutionary movements for over a century. It is the nature of bourgeois society to reduce all social relations to economic ones, so in reclaiming society as a social and communal sphere we must break the stranglehold of economism on our thinking. For the vast majority of the world and a significant minority of americans day-to-day survival and economic exploitation remain the primary issues; the quest for social justice remains unfulfilled largely due to the carefully orchestrated system of neo-colonial relationships which are at the source of our spurious "prosperity". Nevertheless, in the post-industrial economies of North America and Western Europe people no longer develop genuine political self-consciousness out of their "material conditions". It is the social effects of capitalist economics that motivate the political action out of which an analysis appropriate to these conditions can develop. In the daily lives of most americans the nature of work under capitalism, the destruction of human community, the repression of free sexuality, and the degradation of the natural environment have become the felt realities of social oppression.

The issue of action versus education is tricky. None of us in northern Vermont are opposed to political action, nor are we anxious to work with those who are. However we feel that at this point in history it is necessary to reexamine all previous assumptions about what constitutes revolutionary political and social activity. The traditional left is an obvious failure, while the lessons of the new left remain largely unassimilated. The virtual dissolution of pre-bourgeois social forms, the suffocating marketization of our personal lives, and the development of the individual as an atomized consumer/producer unit make past analyses of bourgeois society obsolete. With-

cont. page 7

Hard Rain, cont. from pg. 4

2) The composition of NEAC. By drawing mainly from the anti-nuclear movement, the conference was comprised of all marginal people, for the most part not grounded in any community; many young, whose main political experience was shaped by the new-age dominated anti-nuclear movement, rather than by the struggle-oriented anti-war movement of the 60s/70s. Many (most?) of these people were not affiliated to any group, or any group with a history of concrete activity. This composition limited practical discussion, and will probably limit NEAC's organizational cohesion and stability, its ability to develop a radical analysis in a collective manner, and its impact on society.

3) Anarchism. Being by definition anti-state, its tradition is centered on democracy, the decision-making process, and freedom for the individual. Unfortunately for anarchism, this emphasis on 'process' and individual freedom lent itself all too easily to new-age politics. This easy attraction has made contemporary American anarchism a movement whose members and thinking are not up to the tasks of revolution in a world of sharp class conflict. Communism, on the other hand, has been centered on common ownership, common production, common wealth (and conversely, has been an attack on capital, wage labor, commodity production, and private property). In short, one might say, anarchism made a critique of politics, communism a critique of economics. (I realize there have been a whole series of deviations, perversions, and mixtures of both movements.)

The shining moments of human community and freedom have involved the subversion of politics and economics, the fusion of anarchist and communist tendencies: Spain '36/'37, Hungary '56, Russia '17/'18, and so forth. It was no accident that these examples were left out of "Who We Are...", whose political approach naturally drew on the 'great democratic revolutions' (England, France, etc.). The organization we need would undertake a political-economic critique, and would be aiming for a future which merged the anarchist and communist vision. It would draw people out of both the 'anarchist' and 'communist' movements.

4) Affinity groups. Affinity groups, in their genuine non-instant form, are an organizational form which does not easily allow inclusion of new people, because there are personal (friendship) criteria for membership and not just political/practical. In the occupation attempts at Seabrook, and in the daily work of anti-nuclear groups like Boston Clamshell, affinity groups have tended towards a small-group mentality that was anti-collective and made large-scale coordination impossible. I am convinced that an organization with an affinity group structure only will never be large, nor capable of consistent unity in action.

5) Language. The language we use must be understandable, at the least, to ourselves. It cannot be so general, vague, and all-inclusive. As one Hard Rain member said, 'The document is vague enough so almost anyone could agree with it.' The imprecision of vague generalities leads to a false unity which will be exposed as soon as we try to work together on solutions to real problems. Perhaps this vague 'wholism' (sic) is due to a general fear of analytical thinking, perhaps to side-step the difficult and disciplinary task of thinking strategically and choosing priorities and allies, perhaps to hide the fact that different groups in society have different, and often conflicting interests.

We look forward to continued discussion on these and other points.

-- Rudy Perkins
Hard Rain
Somerville, Mass.

Tide, cont. from pg. 3

UNDERHILL, VERMONT -- "If anybody ever has to fight the Soviets in the wintertime, we sure as heck want to make sure this stuff works." So says Allen Wilson of the Army Corps of Engineers Hanover Laboratory about the anti-tank weapons and heat-seeking missiles to be tested in early January on a federal reserve here in north-central Vermont. This cold-weather operation involves the combined effort of the Army, Navy and Air Force, in an attempt to get one step ahead of their next war. Apparently, they want to fight in the northern climes as well as in the tropics; after all, we can't be choosy about where the resources are.

Response, cont. from pg. 5

out an analysis that is based on the new realities of post-WWII society, we are left with no choice but to endorse resistance to the assaults of market society without having any reconstructive alternatives to propose.

What constitutes revolutionary political action in contemporary america is an open question. The meteoric speed with which political movements are created, coopted, and destroyed, calls into question even our most recent attempts at political organization. The anti-nuclear movement in New England moved from reformism to an open challenge of the state to near oblivion in less than five years. None of the political activity involved produced a stable and committed group of self-conscious activists. Neither reformists nor revolutionaries achieved any of their aims either immediate or ultimate.

The NEAC was organized as an attempt to facilitate new forms of revolutionary activity, growing out of the social reality of contemporary america. As the beginning of a new movement we have more questions than answers and more good ideas than concrete programs. Accordingly we have organized ourselves into a political community within which our theory and practice can develop out of our shared assumptions and common experience. We see the revolutionary movement of which we are a part as being as much a culture and a community as a political organization, and our commitment to affinity groups stems from this broader vision. To us, affinity groups are neither "strategic" nor "tactical" forms of organization. Instead, we see affinity groups as the cellular material out of which can develop genuine political community. And, while we reject the New Age movement with its conciliationist politics and anti-intellectual bias, none the less we whole-heartedly support attempts to establish new forms of genuine community as well as the reassertion of the fundamental connectedness of society and nature, mind and body, and spirit and the world. Only through a politics firmly rooted in such community can we hope to transform a society in which the notion of society itself has become ephemeral.

Virgule

If a
person/one
is to be
successful/respected
she/he
must/should
not
vacillate/waver
in
decision-making/problem-solving,
or
she/he
may/might
risk/chance
seeming/appearing
hypocritical/weak-willed.

I
need/want
to
commit myself to/focus on
a
definite/precise
plan/course
of
action/behavior
but I
should/must
keep/maintain
an
open/flexible
mind/outlook
and
in order to/so that
I
remain/stay
in
accord/harmony
with my
goals/values
I
can't/won't
eliminate/destroy
any
valuable/worthwhile
or
different/unusual/unaccepted
creative/radical/revolutionary
options
/
alternatives.

--Laurie Larson

'New Right' Cringes As Ray Gun Reveals True Aim

No social movement in recent memory, nor any other pseudo-movement, has been as obsessed with conspiracy theories as the so-called New Right. Thus, it was far from a total suprise when the major right-wing ideologists, shortly after Ronald Reagan's election as president, began proclaiming a grand Eastern Establishment/Trilateralist Conspiracy to " take over " the new Reagan administration. After all, despite all of Reagan's right-wing, fundamentalist, "sagebrush rebellion" connections, their Party (and State) are controlled by the same corporate interests as before and both VP-elect George Bush (of CIA fame) and incoming Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger have been members in good standing of the Trilateral Commission.

For all the right's fixation on the influence of the Rockefeller-initiated Trilateral Commission in promoting collaborative trade policies with Europe, Japan, and the Soviet Union, they have paid very little attention to the Commission's own prescriptions for transforming domestic politics to better serve corporate ends. It is a prescription that the "little guy's" president Reagan fills far better than his predecessor ever could--one that requires a popular, charismatic figure, a "moral leader", in other words a Mouth, to win popular support for policies designed to restore the unchallenged corporate prerogatives over policy decisions that characterized the political climate of 25 years ago.

Unlike Carter, who had to conjure up a facade of anti-Washington, anti-corporate rhetoric to escape his status as a political unknown, Reagan has been rehearsing his role as Mouth for years. From several years as the voice of General Electric, doing everything from TV shows to factory pep talks (We will ignore his dubious movie career and his years as a play-by-play sportscaster for the Chicago Cubs-- broadcasting from the studio with a sound effects man at his side), to his stint as California Governor at the behest of his Attorney General-to-be, William Smith, and a half dozen or so other local Republican financiers, to his weekly radio broadcasts through the 1970's, and finally his presidential campaign itself, Reagan has always proved a willing Mouth for the highest bidders.

The Mouth has been relatively silent since the election; they won't even haul him out to announce his own cabinet appointments . Apparently, they have not figured out how to explain his appointees' illustrious corporate credentials to a constituency carefully prompted to expect a real break with recent practice. Explaining Reagan's reversal should be a major preoccupation of mainstream and rightist apologists over the next several weeks; the deep-seated disaffection among middle class voters that led to Reagan's victory must now be translated into active support for regressive policies.

The disaffection so succesfully exploited by the right has been brewing for a long time. It is the product of a middle class increasingly incapable of realizing their social aspirations in an inflationary economy, aspirations shaped by a culture that has sublimated all their social needs into an insatiable desire to consume. The old liberal solutions no longer hold much appeal for them, nor for much of the labor rank-and-file, especially the new breed of "middle class workers" whose personal needs are better met by the fantasy of a comfortable suburban lifestyle than by the archaic slogans of class struggle. The slogans that appeal to these workers are the very paeans to god, family, and country, the visions of an america

"I have a little gun. My husband showed me how to use it. He shoots. It's a tiny little gun. Ronald was away a lot, you know. He was out speaking a lot and I was alone in the house."
(N.Y. Times 12/12)

that nobody can "push around", that recall the 1950's climate of postwar "prosperity" which the Trilateralists are so determined to restore.

In the long run, it is not Reagan's sloganeering, but the specific steps "his" Administration takes to stabilize the domestic economy that will determine his continuing appeal to this constituency. Over the next four years, a growing polarization is inevitable, as the glaring inconsistencies between corporate bailouts and laissez faire ideology, between the renewed arms race and balancing the budget, between internationalized production and protectionist trade policies and between subsidizing "reindustrialization" and dismantling "Big Government" come to the fore. Liberal and conservative ideologists, from Jerry Brown to the Brookings Institution and Business Week, are agreed on the essential concept of "reindustrialization", a program of tax cuts, trade measures, regulatory "reforms"(such as "transferrable pollution rights") and astronomical increases in military spending designed to make american manufacturing more "productive", increasing the level of capital- and technology-intensity. This runs totally against the free market rhetoric that endeared Reagan to the rightist brigades that got him elected, though it is hauntingly reminiscent of the 1950's proto-war economy that lingers behind the rose-tinted memories of the american voting public.

MORE REAGANISM... next page

THE MEN BEHIND THE RAY GUN, OR WHO'S RUNNING THINGS AROUND HERE?

DEFENSE: Caspar Weinberger - The only tried-and-true Trilateralist in the cabinet. For the past five years, he has served as General Counsel for the Bechtel Corporation, the largest construction firm in the world, specializing in Instant Cities for deserving Third World puppets and in major energy facilities, including nuclear power plants. Served as Federal Trade Commission chairman, budget director and HEW Secretary under Nixon.

TREASURY: Donald Regan - Chairman of Merrill Lynch and Co., the largest Wall St. brokerage firm, and a prominent advocate of personal tax "incentives" for the rich. Member of the policy committee of the Business Roundtable, the board of the Committee for Economic Development and the Council on Foreign Relations, the three major corporate policy-formulating groups after the Trilateral Commission.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: William Smith - Senior partner of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, the "most influential" corporate law firm in Los Angeles. One of the half dozen or so California financiers who elevated Reagan, politically and financially, to the governorship. Director of the Crocker National Bank, Pullman, Inc. and several other companies. He has gained local prominence in California as a management consultant for dealing with labor disputes and as a budget-cutting chairman of the University of California Board of Regents under Reagan.

HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES: Richard Schweiker - A prominent liberal Republican Senator from Pennsylvania who suddenly reversed his stands on almost everything when offered the post of Reagan's prospective running mate during the 1976 primary campaign. Anybody want a souvenir Food Stamp?

COMMERCE: Malcolm Baldridge - Director of several large corporations, including major military contractors AMF, Bendix and Uniroyal; chairman of the Scovill conglomerate. Member of the Business Council and long-time Bush supporter; reputed to spend his spare time doing rodeo stunts.

TRANSPORTATION: Andrew Lewis, Jr. - Also a "Bush/Ford man", he is a trustee-in-bankruptcy of the Reading Railroad, with substantial interests in real estate, coal and interstate trucking. Basically a professional corporate manager, with stints as president of Simplex Wire and Cable and Snelling & Snelling.

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE: William Casey - Reagan's campaign manager, and an old OSS man from way back. Securities & Exchange Commission head and Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs under Nixon. Did a stint as president of Export-Import Bank, a leading instrument of multinational corporate leverage over the economies of both Europe and the Third World.

BUDGET DIRECTOR: David Stockman - Congressman from Michigan, leading spokesman for the Kemp-Roth tax cutting crusade, and Reagan's chief debating coach. See article for details.

** SOON-TO-COME: General Alexander Haig of Watergate fame, chairman of United Technogies, one of the world's largest manufacturers of military hardware, as Secretary of State. Not for weak stomachs.

Reagan's cabinet does contain one genuine card-carrying New Rightist, budget director David Stockman, a Michigan congressman, Reagan's chief debating coach and the acknowleged "brains" behind ex-football star Jack Kemp's congressional tax-cutting crusade. In a recent Village Voice interview, Stockman stood by his free market rhetoric, denouncing reindustrialization as "just a game for hyping the political control over the forces of the economy and for preserving the weakest assets in the economy." He opposes incentives for investors as a harbinger of "central planning" and advocates free competition over protectionism, claiming that "a monopoly never develops unless it's sanctioned by governmental authority." However, to the "budgetary gaps" that would result from such programs as the massive increases in military spending that he has supported, he first asserts that they will be "adequately financed" by a new "surge in economic activity", but for the short term he proclaims that, "All the greatest projects of economic advancement in history have been financed by debt, from the US railroads to all the major industries." Whose debt goes without saying. For now, "the rhetoric last spring about the balanced budget is going to be just a distant echo on the pages of a history book." When push comes to shove, even the "purists" retreat behind the realities of power and the underlying priority of protecting property and privilege.

Yes, the next four years will be difficult ones for everyone dedicated to peace, freedom and social justice, especially so for the victims of Reagan's budget-slashing. But with Reagan's right wing populist image already coming apart at the seams, what we're faced with is a far cry from the dreaded fascist monolith that seemed to rear its head on November 4. We might temporarily lose several of the welfare state measures dearest to the hearts of the mainstream liberal and marxist left, but we will just as likely be better off than if the Right had been given a chance to sit, smolder and consolidate itself for another four years.

The continued deterioration of the multinational economy will not be stopped by the change of administration in Washington. The domestic crises of "productivity" and the foreign crisis of the unraveling of american corporate neocolonialism are likely to lead to a deepening depression and renewed imperialist wars for the control of resources and markets. The forces at work transcend the idiosyncracies of any particular set of political managers. Our task as anarchists and revolutionaries is to decipher the underlying social developments which give rise to such surface phenomena as the "New Right" and the Reagan election, and to directly confront the stranglehold of alienated "mass" politics on the popular imagination. With the appeal of liberalism and the various "social democratic" programs all but discredited, only the furthest-reaching social critiques and models of action can rescue us from the mire of reaction.

--V.I. Lennon
Burlington, Vermont

Experience the freedom of total control.

Exemplars-Not Educators

"You cannot teach a person anything. You can only help them find it for themselves"

What follows was prompted by policy resolve 3, "On Educators, Not Leaders". Rather than simply present amendments to the existing draft -- and thus maybe gloss over real differences -- I am seeking to widen discussion on this topic. I believe it contains the essence of what we, as anarchists and the NEAC, are about.

First, I do agree with the distinction made in the draft between leaders and educators. Clearly, the idea of us seeking to act as some kind of "general staff" and trying to "mobilize unthinking followers" would be a gross travesty of anarchism. At the same time I think there are dangers in the "vanguardist" approach to education that seems to pervade the statement.

What bothers me most is that we are beginning to set anarchists apart from other people— and that, within NEAC, "older more experienced anarchists" are set apart from other members. In casting ourselves in the role of an intellectual avant-garde vis-a-vis the rest of society, are we not in danger of doing precisely what we say we don't want -- substituting the genius of the few for the self-activity of the many ? It's as if we had a blueprint for how society should be organized. We don't want to be like the leftists and just recruit followers (the rent-a-crowd approach, but we do want people to see things our way.

The danger, as I see it, of believing that 'we' know what's best and that its our job to educate 'them' is that we become missionaries for truth. It makes us prone to lay trips when we should be empowering people. This is bad for us and is liable to be resented. We will be seen as yet another bunch of politicos trying to manipulate others.

We cannot know what the society of the future will be like. We have questions, albeit highly pertinent questions, but not answers. That's why we need a social system that lets people decide freely and equally the shape of their daily lives and living mechanisms that foster change. What will come out of this process is not our's - or anybody's - to define a priori. It is something for us to discover together, by trial and error. I see education as a process whereby a person, or people, learn new ideas, ways that help them better understand the world and act to meet their own needs and aspirations. They/we can do this best through sharing information and by personal example. Rather than preach anarchism as a superior social system, we should try to live anarchy- as far as our courage, imagination and current circumstances allow. In doing this, let us be as open as we can about who we are, what we are doing and why. I am not saying everyone do their own thing- this is not a plea for individualism - but I am saying let us organize around our own needs.

If what we are doing has any validity as a solution for anyone but ourselves, if it is in any

cont. page 15

~ ~ ~ ~

wednesday 9 july

Face dug into the scent
left behind on a bedsheet.
Morning comes, you leave, yet
your smell follows me, echoes, blooms,
takes possession of the neighborhood.

thursday 10 july

We take the risk of passion
locked in uncertainty
and fall to the earth as maple keys,
cast to four winds
ginger-colored epiphanies
spinning out our selves.

friday 11 july

The dream merchant rolls down the hill
and you disappear after.
Wearing purple stripes
carrying discontent
seeking copper fields.

wednesday 16 july

Holding your pillow
wishing I could hold you
I drowse among cards and words
till Reagan's voice invades
from the living room and wakes me.
I call one friend in Boston
use the black phone
for relief this torrid night.
Rain still has not come to our garden,
I am still in the city
and the cat cries for you

--Anne Genovese

Who we are..., cont. from cover

ialism" because it has rightly become a subtle form of hierarchy at best or overt form of totalitarianism at worst. We believe that the same has now become true for words like "communism" and even "liberalism". Unlike the socialists and communists, it is hierarchy we wish to abolish, not only classes, and the domination of person by person, not only the exploitation of "man by man". We have seen only too vividly in half of the world how "classless" and "non-exploitative" societies in the names of socialism and communism have reproduced the sickening, coercive and overbearing bureaucracies, the totalitarian "people's democracies", and the onerous patriarchal relations that have brought humanity into subjugation and degradation.

As anarchists, however, we define ourselves not only by what we oppose, but by the reconstructive forms of freedom we propose. We devoutly hold to the anarchic, libertarian ideal of a decentralized society, scaled to human dimensions, that all individuals can understand and control--in short, to a communitarian scale that fosters an active citizenship, a living and vital public sphere in which all, rather than a few, can consciously administer society. The haunting memory of our New England town meetings comprise the nascent forms for such a decentralized, direct, face-to-face democracy. We seek to revive this memory, to give it new life, to free it of its parochial and patriarchal trappings, and to raise it as a model for our country in contrast to the imperial presidency, the far-distant legislators, the omnipotent bureaucracies, and the wealthy elites who are leading us into crisis and disaster. We seek to decentralize resources and the means of production using new technologies --solar, wind, horticultural and the like-- as substitutes wherever possible for the brutalizing factory system, assembly line offices, and monstrous retail malls that have reduced our people to mere objects of industrial manipulation and passive consumers of useless, where not overtly toxic, commodities.

We do not oppose science and technology; to the contrary, we see a new science and technology emerging that can bring machines, tools, knowledge and nature into a new and rational harmony rooted in free, interlinked communities sharing the planet with each other and with the entire world of life. As against the insensate rivalry, competition, sexism, racism, elitism and egoism that characterize market society, we propose a new mutualism, solidarity and sense of giving that characterize a truly ecological and communitarian society.

Our reconstructive focus is thus local, municipal and regional--based on the free coordination of localities and regions--not national and totalitarian based on centralization, obedience and command. We seek not the real chaos of competition, but the true order of harmonious communities, a "body politic" in the literal sense of the term of free citizens, convening in local assemblies, who share with other communities the formulation and administration of policy. Our emphasis is on the right of each individual to directly affect the course of events, not on ritualistic "elections" every four years of preselected candidates who represent the interests of privilege and power. Hence, our commitment to methods of direct personal and collective empowerment--not as "tactics" or "strategies", but as real bases for direct action, self-activity and self-management that will foster the development of these new "selves" that can administer society in a truly substantive and creative democracy.

We draw our inspiration from the continuing feminist struggle for non-domination and the ecological, communitarian, civil rights, new left, antiwar, gay and women's liberation movements. We support and learn from all revolutionary social movements dedicated to a truly democratic and non-hierarchical society; we can no longer return to the traditional politics of so-called "left-wing" movements and sects. For us, the true social movements of the present and future must be nothing less than a new culture, a poetry of ideas and practice, that will remake us and ultimately society itself into a richly creative and humane civilization. Hence we are committed to the most far-reaching change possible, not to half-hearted compromises. We eschew violence for education, "parties" for networks of loving affinity groups and communes; sclerotic "programs" for living models and examples that foster communal solidarity and mutual aid.

These approaches alone, we believe, can open a new way for an America--and a world--that is faced with totalitarianism, nuclear war, and almost certain ecological immolation. If our views seem utopian, it may well be that we have reached a point in history where only

cont. next page

Water won't run straight, and neither will we.

(for the Goddard College
Womyn's Cultural Celebration,
Summer 1980)

Womyn's space
is round by the river
in a meander
evolving towards
oxbow lake.
I am wombed here
in the gallery
while wind-blown skirts
crack in the wind
and the skin
of breasts
ripples and flexes
over muscles made strong
by strong hearts.
Ritual;
offering up water-worn pebbles
and locks of braided hair
to lip-shaped troughs
we make soup
to evoke the cloud sculptures
to rain
and rain
and rain.
A different rain
of flowing webs
and wide-open eyes
so we can grow
wetter and rounder
to shiny liquid beads
of squirming life.
Birth canal
opening north.
As we leave here
we're reborn. --Laurie Larson

Who we are..., cont. from pg. 12

utopia can rescue us from sheer annihilation. As one American anarchist theorist has warned, the current means of production have finally exceeded their capacity to merely dominate and now threaten to utterly destroy. If we wish to survive, we must begin to live. In May-June, 1968, the students of Paris raised the magnificent cry: "Be Realistic! Do the Impossible!" In the face of the crises that loom before us, we must now add: If we don't do the "Impossible", we will surely wind up with the Unthinkable!

(Adopted October 19, 1980)

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The basic unit of the New England Anarchist Conference is the affinity group, a small group of dedicated sisters and brothers with a shared commitment both to their political vision and to each other. Within the limits established by the Conference, affinity groups are independent and autonomous. Any affinity group is free to disaffiliate at any time.

General Conferences of the organization are to be held four times a year. Policy decisions for the NEAC are to be made only at the conferences.

A coordinating committee, to carry on administrative work between conferences, will be chosen by the local affinity groups in the region of the most recent conference. Members of the coordinating committee, although recallable at any conference, will be chosen for the maximum term of one year. All coordinating committee meetings will be open to all NEAC members. The coordinating committee will be responsible for publication of the minutes of the general conference, maintenance of a mailing list, the NEAC accounts, and for a financial statement.

The coordinating committee will provide a projected budget for printing, postage, and conference costs. The minutes of the conference and any necessary mailings will be the responsibility of the coordinating committee. The coordinating committee is also responsible for soliciting funds from affinity groups and individuals to cover costs to cover projected budgets of the quarterly conferences and interim networking. Funds for organizing conferences and interim mailing will come from conference registration fees.

Local coordinating bodies or meetings of affinity groups will be organized as needed.

The NEAC encourages the publication of newsletters, position papers, and local newspapers.

The NEAC encourages self-education of all its members. Our commitment to revolutionary activity must be informed by the deepest understanding of the issues involved.

Books on AnarchaFeminism

The Susan B. Anarchy affinity group (and friends) are presenting this study guide as a jumping-off point in preparation for the NEAC gathering on January 16-18. We hope you will read what interests you, keeping in mind that the January conference will not be a "back-to-basics" introduction to anarcha-feminism -- ideally, we will examine anarcha-feminism in thought, process and action from a well-versed perspective. Susan B. Anarchy welcomes feedback and additions to this list:

Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape, by Susan Brownmiller. A compelling analysis of power in male-female relationships, especially the relation of rape to war. A "feminist classic".

Amazon Odyssey, by Ti-Grace Atkinson. Links Books (paper avail.) 1974. One of the first lesbian-feminist cultural/political journies, by one of the first outspoken lesbian-feminists.

Anarchism: The Feminist Connection, by Peggy Kornegger. Available in **Reinventing Anarchy.** This weaves contemporary anarchist thought and theories with the principles and practice of feminism. A necessity.

A Room of One's Own, by Virginia Woolf. Beautiful writing by a brilliant, eloquent feminist.

Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist, by Robin Morgan. A collection of essays tracing her journey from the New Left through the stages of feminist awakening. Check out the chapter on "metaphysical feminism".

Gyn/Ecology -- The Meta-ethics of Radical Feminism, by Mary Daly. A very imaginative, inten theoretical work by a brilliant--if sometimes hard to comprehend---feminist philosopher. Noone I know agrees with all of this; no one I know did not learn much from this. Another "feminist classic."

Living My Life, by Emma Goldman. An extraordinary autobiography by one of the most remarkable women who ever lived. In it you will find: "If I can't dance to it, it's not my revolution," in its original wording.

The Mermaid and the Minotaur, by Dorothy Dinnerstein. Speaks to the necessity that both men and women participate in childcare, to resolve social schisms and "human malaise."

Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution, by Adrienne Rich. Just because Adrienne is one of the best feminist poets doesn't mean her analytical prose isn't real, i.e., fascinating ideas woven with beautiful writing. Especially read the sections on 'other' forms of child care.

On Lies, Secrets and Silences, by Adrienne Rich. More incredible essays. Please read "Toward a Woman-Centered University".

Personal Politics, by Sara Evans. This chronocle of sexism and the later, more subtle "non-feminism", of the antiwar movement is quite apropos to our present struggle.

Plain Brown Rapper, by Rita Mae Brown. These humorous and deadly serious essays and talks are aren't anarchistic, but they are candid, undiluted feminism from an early oracle. "Leadership vs. Stardom" is important.

Reinventing Anarchy, ed. by Carol and Howard Ehrlich, et. al. This collection of modern anarchist writings has an especially fantastic section on anarcha-feminism (the rest is great, too).

Sexual Shakedown, by Lyn Farley. A power analysis of sexual harassment.

The Second Sex, by Simone DuBeauvoir. Read especially chapters 9 and 11 for a lucid exposition on the patriarchal role of myth in the treatment of women and nature.

Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. A must for anyone who has ever questioned why we are taught what we are, and why men with power have it.

Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her, by Susan Griffin. An amazing tapestry of science and ritual, of statistic and intuition, of history and future; of what our lives are, were, and can be.

We Cannot Live Without Our Lives, by Barbara Demming. Barbara's account of her experience as a feminist in the civil rights and antiwar movements is the unique kind of melding of the personal and the political that we must create for ourselves as anarchists.

Some inspiring fiction:

The Four-Gated City and **The Golden Notebook,** by Doris Lessing
Herland: A Lost Feminist Utopian Novel, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Motherlines, by Suzy McKee Charnas
Surfacing, by Margaret Atwood
The Wanderground: Stories of the Hill Women, by Sally Miller Gearheart

Conference Update

We are a group of men and women in the Boston area who are organizing the second gathering of the New England Anarchist Conference. This conference will be centered around issues of anarcha-feminism in thought, process, and action. We view feminism and anarchism as interrelated and are working on ways of applying feminist thought to both our personal lives and political activity. The conference will include separate caucuses of men and women, separate and mixed workshops, communal meals, celebrations, and some sessions with the whole group. Childcare will be provided. Workshops will include:the links between anarchism and feminism; the roots of power; feminist and anarchist history; feminist response to "Reaganism"; men supporting men; being a woman-identified woman ; exploring incompatibilities in anarchism and feminism; assessing the progress of the men's movement; and what makes an anarcha-feminist direct action. (come prepared with research on and an analysis of a specific action or possible action, the problem addressed, how it was addressed, how effective it was, and what was feminist about its tactics and goals.) For more information or to help, contact Susan B. Anarchy.

--January Conference Planning Committee

Exemplars, cont'd.

way relevant to the lives and aspirations of our friends and neighbors, it may give them hope and encouragement to reinvent their daily lives. We, or rather the ideas we manifest, may thus end up having had some influence. But only because the deed was done for its own sake, for ourselves, not for its propaganda value.

In the same way I think there are dangers in assigning a special role within NEAC to older, more experienced anarchists. I realize that this section was intended as a limitation on their influence but behind this is there not the notion that their opinions and their interpretations of historical events are somehow more valuable than those of the rest of NEAC? This is tantamount to giving them a larger say in the affairs of NEAC and thus a form of power over others. As one who fits that category I would rather that each and every one of us be seen as having something valuable to impart, and learn. I believe ideas should be considered on their merits, not because the person advancing them can claim 'credentials' of any kind.

-- Maikel, Gang of One
Cambridge, Vt.

help !

The money we had left at the end of the first conference is almost gone. Printing and mailing the minutes of the conference cost $135. Susan B. Anarchy urgently needs money for the next conference. Once again we are all being forced to dip into the rent money. Pending the adoption of a policy on dues and membership all of our funds remain ad hoc. We are asking those who can, to send their registration fees now, to Susan B.

This first issue only of the newsletter is being distributed free to those on our mailing list from the first conference. Copies will also be available to buy for those attending the second conference. Subscriptions to the newsletter will be $6 for 8 issues. Sample copies are available for $1, with special rates available for large quantities. Send more if you can, less if you really can't, but please send something soon so we can get beyond this hand-to-mouth existence.

Susan B. Anarchy
13 Spring Street
Somerville, MA
02143

Black and Green
c/o NEAC
Box 373
Burlington, VT 05402

STU, SORRY FOR THE DELAY. YOURE LETTER WAS TACKED ON THE WALL AS SOMEONE LOVED THE PRINT. AN EXCHANGE IS FINE WITH US.
Henry
for BLACK + GREEN

BURLIN

N E A C
BOX 373
BURLINGTON
VERMONT 05402

BLACK RAT
P.O. BX 1817
BANCROFT, ONT K0L 1C0
CANADA

- STU VICKARS -

"The neatest Christmas gift of all!," says Ronald Reagan

You can twist it... You can twirl it... You can bend it... You can curl it...

The new revolutionary collar on Van Heusen Century shirts won't wrinkle... ever!

RONALD REAGAN starring in Universal International's "LAW AND ORDER." Color by Technicolor